

PART 5 FUNDRAISING AND POLITICAL ACTIVITIES OF THE NATIONAL PARTIES AND ADMINISTRATIONS

Chapter 28: Republican Use of Federal Property and Contributor Access

In response to claims that practices under the Clinton Administration were "unprecedented," this Chapter examines how the Republican Party and preceding Republican Administrations have used the White House as a fundraising tool, provided access to elected officials for large contributors, and appointed large contributors to positions within the government.

FINDINGS

- (1) In the 1996 election cycle, the Republican Party continued its longstanding practice of raising money by offering, and providing, major contributors with access to top Republican federal officials.** These offers of access are central components of Republican donor programs such as Team 100 and the Republican Eagles. They started in the 1970s and continue today.
- (2) Federal property has routinely been used by the Republican Party in its fundraising efforts.** The RNC has hosted fundraising events on Capitol Hill, at the Bush White House, the Pentagon, and at other federal government locations.
- (3) The Bush Administration rewarded major contributors with significant government positions, including ambassadorships.**

MAJOR CONTRIBUTOR ACCESS TO ELECTED OFFICIALS

The Republican National Committee's two principal donor programs are Team 100, which requires "an initial contribution of \$100,000 upon joining, and \$25,000 in the subsequent 3 years,"¹ and the Republican Eagles, which requires members to contribute \$15,000 annually.² To recruit members, the RNC's promotional materials promised that participants in the Team 100 and Eagles programs would receive special access to high-ranking Republican elected officials, including governors, senators, and representatives.

Republican Eagles

Since its inception, the Republican Eagles program has granted its members special access to top Republican officials. In 1975, the Eagles held their very first meeting in the Roosevelt Room of the White House with President Gerald Ford.³ Eagles' access to elected officials continued throughout the Reagan Administration. For example, a September 16, 1982, memorandum on White House stationery indicates that, in 1982, President Reagan made a fundraising-related phone call to an RNC event for the Eagles held in an auditorium at the

Department of Commerce.⁴ President Reagan's talking points for this call illustrate the perks provided to the RNC's largest donors and verify that the President made the phone call from the White House with full knowledge that this particular event was directly related to the RNC's fundraising efforts on federal property:

Hello to all of you high flying Eagles. I am genuinely sorry I couldn't be there in person with you today. Events here at the White House and the trip to New Jersey this afternoon have prevented me from coming over. But we have the Eagles down to the White House quite often so I will be seeing you soon.

In the meantime, I'm sending Secretary Shultz, Secretary Regan and other members of the Cabinet over to keep you abreast of what's going on. In fact, you will be seeing more of my Cabinet today than I will.

* * *

Let me say to you Eagles how important your contributions are to the Republican Party. I know a lot of people must tell you that, but we tell you so often because it is so true. We are so appreciative. You are pillars of the party.⁵ [emphasis added]

It is clear that this reception was designed to reward and encourage RNC donors; that large donors were given special access to members of the President's cabinet; that President Reagan made the call to the event from the White House; and that the RNC fundraising-related event was held on federal property.

The practice of granting access to Eagles members continued throughout the 1996 election cycle. For example, a 1995 Eagles brochure contains photographs of Eagles members meeting with former President George Bush, former Vice President Dan Quayle, Governor Pete Wilson, Senators Connie Mack and Kay Bailey Hutchison, and Mayor Rudolph Giuliani.⁶ The brochure states:

Each year Eagles receive invitations to four national meetings. At least two of these meetings take place in Washington, D.C., and feature strategy and issue committee sessions with prominent elected Party leaders from the U.S. Senate and House on such topics as the budget and tax reform, international trade and regulatory reform, health care and foreign policy. Other participants have included Republican Presidents (at the White House), Governors and former Administration officials.⁷ [emphasis added]

On January 24, 1996, Eagles members attended a "legislative update" by Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole and House Speaker Newt Gingrich, a "private pre-Gala cocktail reception" with Republican governors, and "Eagles Issues Discussions" with six senators and eight

representatives.⁸

Eagles members were granted access not just to American officials, but to foreign officials as well. The 1995 Eagles brochure explains that “International Trade Missions” are arranged to allow Eagles to meet foreign government and business officials:

Reflecting the unequaled position enjoyed by Republican Eagles, foreign economic and trade missions to Europe and Asia are also periodically scheduled. We have been welcomed enthusiastically by heads of state, such as Premier Li Peng of the People’s Republic of China and King Carl XVI Gustaf of Sweden, as well as high-ranking government and business officials in London, Paris, Budapest, Vienna, Beijing, Taipei, and Hong Kong.⁹

Membership in the Eagles also entitles contributors to sit on “Eagles Issues Committees” which, according to the Eagles brochure, “provide members the opportunity to communicate their views directly to the elected leadership of the Party and the Congress.”¹⁰ The Eagles Issues Committees prepare reports which are “distributed to the leadership of the Republican National Committee, members of the United States Senate and House of Representatives, Republican Governors, the National Policy Forum and the 1996 Republican Platform Committee.”¹¹

Team 100

Team 100 membership conferred similar benefits. A 1994 RNC Team 100 brochure promised that RNC contributors who meet the Team 100 \$100,000 threshold contribution level would get meetings with :

Former Presidents Gerald Ford and George Bush, Dan Quayle, Bob Dole, Phil Gramm, Trent Lott, Newt Gingrich, Dick Armey, Lamar Alexander, Richard Lugar, Jack Kemp, Dick Cheney, and other Republican leaders. Past participants include: Connie Mack, Bob Packwood, Alfonse D’Amato, Thad Cochran, Pete Wilson, Bill Paxon, Bill Archer, Susan Molinari.¹²

The RNC also promised Team 100 members:

[E]xclusive missions abroad including meetings in China, Rome, Paris, Moscow, St. Petersburg, Prague, Vienna, Warsaw and Madrid. Team 100’s stature enables them to meet with some of the highest ranking government and business officials during these international exchanges.¹³

DNC fundraisers saw this brochure and decided to make a similar brochure to compete with the RNC’s fundraising. However, the DNC brochure was never used because the President determined that the written promise of access to large contributors was offensive and should not be published. As DNC Finance Director Richard Sullivan explained in his testimony:

Senator Torricelli. In 1994, were you aware that the Republican National Committee had produced an Eagles and a Team 100 brochure outlining activities, perks, that contributors would have if they gave \$25,000 or other significant sums to the Republican National Committee?

Mr. Sullivan. Yes. Not only in 1994, but over the course of the last 10 years.

Senator Torricelli. And at that point, in fact, the Democratic National Committee had no similar brochure outlining its programs?

Mr. Sullivan. That's correct. . . .

Senator Torricelli. And as a result of this, the Democratic National Committee decided to issue a brochure of its own?

Mr. Sullivan. That's correct.

* * *

Senator Torricelli. And when Bill Clinton received this Democratic National Committee brochure, which by your own authorship was reduced in its scope and its promises because you found a similar program by the Republican National Committee offensive, Bill Clinton was not pleased with this brochure; is that accurate?

Mr. Sullivan. That's what I understand.

* * *

Senator Torricelli. Right. And, in fact, the president ordered that these not be distributed and they be destroyed because he found them offensive.

Mr. Sullivan. That's correct.¹⁴

Although the Democratic Party decided not to use similar promotional material, RNC promotional materials promising access to large contributors were distributed throughout the 1996 election cycle and into the 1998 cycle. For example, on December 15, 1995, RNC Chairman Haley Barbour wrote a letter to Republican members of the Senate Finance Committee that stated:

[T]he RNC's premier fundraising organization, Team 100, will hold its Winter National Meeting on [January 24, 1996]. The members of Team 100 have requested to meet with the Senate Finance Committee. I hope you will plan to

participate in this discussion on the budget from 10:00 a.m. to 11:00 a.m. in the Dirksen Senate Office Building, Room 106. You are also invited to attend a luncheon hosted by Speaker Newt Gingrich and Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole following the discussion.¹⁵

The RNC arranged for Team 100 members to meet with Republican senators on the Finance Committee, and with Senator Dole, Speaker Gingrich, Republican presidential candidates, and Republican members of the House Ways and Means Committee on January 24, 1996.¹⁶ Following this meeting, at least one Team 100 member boasted about the access he had bought. In a July 10, 1996, letter to a prospective Team 100 member, John Palmer of Mobile Telecommunication Technologies wrote:

I feel we have a rare opportunity with Haley [Barbour], Trent [Lott], and Thad [Cochran] in the positions they are [in] today.

Ed Lupberger, CEO of Entergy, joined Team 100 earlier this year, and this past Spring, I saw Haley escort him on four appointments that turned out to be very significant in the legislation affecting public utility holding companies. In fact, it made Ed a hero in his industry.

If you have been considering this or if there is a chance you might, I feel it significant to Haley and the Senators if you could do this¹⁷

Other Republican Events and Meetings for Contributors

In addition to Team 100 and the Eagles, the Republican Party sponsored a number of other donor organizations and programs that offered contributors access to top Republican elected officials. During the Reagan and Bush years, the RNC sponsored “President’s Dinners,” which offered contributors a menu of access that they could buy. For example, a document entitled “Benefits for Tablebuyers and Fundraisers” describes the access that contributors purchased during a Bush Administration President’s Dinner. “Tablebuyers” were entitled to:

- O “[p]rivate reception hosted by President and Mrs. Bush at the White House” or a “[r]eception hosted by The President’s Cabinet.”
- O “[l]uncheon at the Vice President’s Residence hosted by Vice President and Mrs. Quayle”
- O “Senate-House Leadership Breakfast hosted by Senator Bob Dole and Congressman Bob Michel”
- O “Option to request a Member of the House of Representatives to complete the table of ten. With the purchase of a second table, option to request one Senator or one Senior Administration Official”¹⁸

“Top Fundraisers” got the “[o]ppportunity to be seated at a head table with The President or Vice President based on ticket sales.”¹⁹ The document did not try to conceal the fact that the Republican Party was rewarding major contributors with access. It concluded by saying, “Benefits based on receipts.”²⁰

The Republican Senate Council, which is a fundraising arm of the National Republican Senatorial Committee, offers contributors access to Republican senators. According to a 1993 Senate Council fundraising letter:

The standard membership in the Republican Senate Council is \$5,000 a year and the Policy Board is \$15,000. The standard membership entitles you to monthly meetings while the Senate is in session. Our program generally consists of discussion on current pending legislation with the ranking Republican on the pertinent committee addressing the membership.

The Policy Board level is entitled to all the standard membership benefits in addition to quarterly dining with this smaller group and the Republican Senators. The meetings serve as a virtual one-on-one as the Senators may outnumber the Policy Board members.²¹

The National Republican Congressional Committee (“NRCC”) promises contributors to its Congressional Forum and House Council donor programs access to key House Republicans. Congressional Forum membership, which requires a \$15,000 annual contribution for individuals and PACs and a \$25,000 annual contribution for corporations, confers the following benefits:

- O “Monthly private dinners with the Chairmen and Republican Members of key Congressional Committees”
- O “Private dinner with Speaker Newt Gingrich and the GOP House Leadership”
- O “Private dinner with House Committee Chairmen”
- O “An invitation to the Chairman’s Skeet and Trap Shoot”
- O “VIP preference at House Council and NRCC events.”²²

The Republican House Council, membership in which cost \$5,000 per year for individuals and Political Action Committees (“PACs”) and \$10,000 per year for corporations, offers members:

- O Regular briefings with key Republican members and staff who work directly on the discussion topic

- O Regular political briefings focusing on national trends and activities crucial to maintaining Republican control of the House in 1996
- O Invitations to the NRCC Winter and Summer Meetings. Each two-day event features political and legislative discussions with key House members and keynote addresses by prominent GOP leaders.²³

The RNC also organized ad hoc fundraising events that offered donors access to politicians. At its 1996 Annual Gala, the RNC invited those who had raised or contributed \$250,000 to:

- O a private reception and photo opportunity with the Republican presidential candidates;
- O lunch and photo opportunity with the Speaker of the House of Representatives Newt Gingrich and Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole;
- O a "[p]rivate meeting" with members of selected Senate and House of Representatives Committees; and
- O an "[e]xclusive reception with Governor Pete Wilson and Republican Governors in private residence/yacht."²⁴

The invitation to the 1997 Annual Gala promised those raising \$250,000 similar benefits, including a separate lunch with the "Republican Senate and House Committee Chairmen of your choice."²⁵

Similarly, on February 9, 1995, the RNC held the "Official 1995 Republican Inaugural." For \$150,000, contributors were offered:

- O a "private reception" and photo opportunity with U.S. Senate and House Leadership;
- O an invitation to a "Speaker of the House VIP reception;" and
- O breakfast in the U.S. Capitol with Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole and Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich.²⁶

One of the more glaring examples of a Republican sale of access is memorialized in an undated memo from an RNC aide to Tim Barnes, the chairman of Team 100, relating to Ole Nilssen, a contributor Barnes referred to as "hot." In the memo, the aide informed Barnes, "We are working on getting him an appointment with [Representative] Dick Arme y, so we can get his other \$50,000. We had a meeting set up for this week, but Arme y canceled his Florida leg of his trip."²⁷ The implication of the memo is clear -- to raise money for the RNC, the Team 100 Chairman would arrange one-on-one meetings with the House Majority Leader.

The RNC arranged for major contributors to gain special access to Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole. In a memo to an RNC fundraiser, Tim Barnes wrote:

Kim White of Mr. Louis Bacon's office (Moore Capital Management) has been trying to reach Dennis Shea recently with no success. Kim is trying to establish a contact in Senator Dole's office for Mr. Bacon. As you know, Mr. Bacon has been very generous to the RNC. If there is any way you can assist, it would be greatly appreciated.²⁸

Also, as shown in Chapter 3, the Republican Party offered Ambrous Young, the Chairman of Young Brothers Development Corporation ("YBD") access to Speaker Gingrich and Senator Dole as an incentive for YBD's \$2.1 million loan guarantee to the National Policy Forum ("NPF"). On August 15, 1994, Fred Volcansek, an NPF fundraiser, wrote a memo to Ambrous Young asking that YBD extend NPF a loan guarantee. The memo concludes: "The timing of this effort is crucial. The loan needs to be arranged and funded in the next two weeks. Chairman Barbour, Senator Dole and Congressman Gingrich, who are committed to the NPF, will make themselves available to express their support for your participation on this project."²⁹ After YBD provided the loan guarantee, Young did meet with and have his photograph taken with Speaker Gingrich and Senator Dole.³⁰ Following the visit, Chairman Barbour wrote to Young, "I am delighted you were able to meet with both Senator Dole and Speaker Gingrich. They were pleased to hear your views on developments in Asia....Your role as a key advisor on Asian policy is essential to both me and the NPF."³¹

These meetings are not unlike the meetings with Clinton Administration officials arranged by DNC Chairman Donald Fowler that have been publicly criticized by members of both political parties. In fact, the DNC policies and procedures manuals prohibited the DNC staff from arranging meetings with officials on behalf of contributors. But, while members of this Committee were criticizing Fowler for violating DNC policy, the RNC continued to arrange for large contributors to meet with elected officials. On February 27, 1997, Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott sent out a fundraising letter on behalf of the National Republican Senatorial Committee ("NRSC") promising contributors "plenty of opportunities to share [their] personal ideas and vision with some of our top Republican leaders, senators, and panel members." Failure to contribute meant that "you could lose a unique chance to be included in current legislative policy debates -- debates that will affect your family and your business for many years to come."³² This year, Senator Mitch McConnell of Kentucky, the leading Republican opponent of campaign-finance reform, sent out an NRSC fundraising letter filled with promises to contributors:

You'll be invited twice a year to attend high-level Washington policy briefings, receptions and special dinners with my Republican Senate colleagues as well as the top leaders of our Republican Party. These are names you know well . . . Senator Lott and the entire leadership of Senate Chairmen and Subcommittee Chairmen who are driving the national Republican agenda . . . By signing on today, you will also be able to join in our Fall Briefing and attend one of our small dinners hosted

by Republican Senators and dignitaries. Over the years, these intimate gatherings have become the hallmark events of our Inner Circle membership.³³

As explained in Chapter 24, it is not illegal to reward contributors with access to politicians. The current laws regulating fundraising do not prohibit providing access to elected officials in exchange for contributions, as long as policy decisions are not "sold." These Republican practices simply demonstrate that both parties provided access to elected officials in exchange for contributions and neither can claim the practices of 1996 were unprecedented or confined to one party.

USE OF FEDERAL PROPERTY FOR FUNDRAISING

A significant amount of public attention has focused on the use of coffees at the White House as a fundraising tool. While the use of the White House and other federal buildings as a fundraising tool has been the subject of significant scrutiny and criticism, it is a longstanding practice that has been exploited by both political parties. Republicans have frequently held fundraising-related events on federal property. These events have occurred in venues such as Capitol Hill and the White House.

The RNC has frequently sponsored events on federal property for its Team 100 and Eagles members. For example, on January 23, 1996, Team 100 sponsored a "Senate/House Leadership Reception" at the Library of Congress.³⁴ A day later, the RNC invited Team 100 members to meetings at the Dirksen Senate Office Building with Republican members of the Senate Finance and House Ways and Means Committees as noted above.³⁵ At the RNC's February 9, 1995, "Official 1995 Republican Inaugural," those who contributed \$150,000 were invited to "[b]reakfast in the U.S. Capitol with Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole and Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich."³⁶

Moreover, as demonstrated by the chronology in the Appendix to this chapter, the Republican Party held numerous fundraising events at the White House during both the Bush and Reagan Administrations. Even though the Minority was not permitted access to the Bush Library or testimony from Bush Administration officials or RNC personnel, the Minority was able to identify multiple events at the Bush and Reagan White Houses for Republican Eagles or Team 100 members that appeared to use the White House as a fundraising tool. The Team 100 brochure used during the 1996 election cycle even predicted, "Team 100 will be entertaining in the White House again in January, 1997."³⁷

The Minority was also able to obtain videotapes of a number of Reagan White House events in which President Reagan thanked donors for giving money to the Republican Party and asked them for additional contributions:

O At a September 30, 1987, White House reception for the Eagles, President Reagan said, "I will campaign hard for the nominee of our party and let me ask you now -- I know this is

silly, but can I count on you to help?”³⁸

- O On April 29, 1987, President Reagan told guests at a White House reception for the President’s Dinner:

I want each of you to know how grateful we are for your generous support to our cause. When we get to the dinner, you’ll hear me give credit for all that’s been accomplished. . . I don’t know if I’m jumping the gun or not, but if it’s finally official and the last thing has been tallied, I am expecting tonight that they will tell us that last year we set the record for a political fundraising event and tonight we’re going to break that all-time record.³⁹

- O On September 12, 1985, President Reagan told guests at a White House Eagles reception:

Yes, I’m grateful for all you’ve done in the past, but now that we have the chance, now that we know the American people are with us, join me in leaving America and the world a legacy of prosperity and freedom that future generations will honor and thank us for. Please just don’t keep up your tremendous work, redouble your efforts. Make the Eagles even bigger and better than they are now.⁴⁰

- O On April 22, 1985, President Reagan remarked to guests at a White House meeting for the Republican Congressional Leadership Council, “Many of you were instrumental in giving us the means to keep control of the Senate. I hope I can count on all of you next time around.”⁴¹

- O At a May 10, 1984, White House reception for the President’s Dinner committee, President Reagan said, “We still have a lot to do and that’s why your support in this campaign was so vital. This year, we must keep the White House, retain our majority in the Senate and increase our seats in the House.”⁴²

The RNC played a significant role in determining who would attend dinners and other events at the Reagan and Bush White Houses. Judith Spangler, the assistant chief for arrangements at the White House, who has been a White House employee for 18 years, testified that the RNC supplied the names of invitees to White House events during the Reagan and Bush presidencies.⁴³

During the Bush Administration, Republicans also held fundraising events at other federal venues. For example, on August 19, 1992, Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney met at the Pentagon with members of the Presidential Roundtable, a Republican donor program.⁴⁴ That month, the Presidential Roundtable held “[b]riefings and tours of the NASA Center limited to Roundtable members and their guests, hosted by Senators from the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.”⁴⁵ On October 15, 1992, the “House Council,” a fundraising arm of

the National Republican Congressional Committee, invited members to a luncheon with Vice President Quayle at the "Vice President's House."⁴⁶ In August 1990, Senator Don Nickles, chairman of the Republican "Inner Circle," invited contributors to the Vice President's Mansion. "It's one of the most historic homes in America," the letter began. "And because it's also the home of one of America's most famous families, few individuals decline an invitation to attend an event there." The letter was accompanied by an appeal for money.⁴⁷

These uses of the White House and other federal buildings were not necessarily illegal. The Minority was unable to determine whether there were solicitations or receipts of contributions at these events because the Majority refused to require individuals who would not voluntarily appear for depositions to do so. Hence, we cannot say with certainty whether these events were "fundraisers" or fundraising tools similar to the coffees at the White House organized by the DNC during the 1996 election cycle. However, there is no doubt that these events had a fundraising component; the invitation of contributors to the Bush and Reagan White Houses was obviously designed to aid fundraising efforts. Indeed, the Majority's summary witness, FBI detailee Jerome Campana, who analyzed the coffees in testimony before the Committee agreed that these Republican events were the same as the coffees -- fundraising tools designed to encourage contributions.⁴⁸ He testified:

Q: [L]et me read to you from the Republican Eagles document produced to the Committee. The Bates number is R3188: "Befitting its unequalled stature within our party, exclusive activities are reserved solely for the Republican Eagles. National meetings. Each year, Eagles receive invitations to four national meetings. At least two of these meetings take place in Washington, D.C. and feature strategy sessions with prominent elected party leaders from the U.S. Senate and House. Other participants have included Republican Presidents, Governors and former administration officials." Would that meet your notion of a fundraising tool?

A: I speak of it very broadly. So I would--I concede that I would characterize that as a fundraising tool; yes, sir.⁴⁹

POLITICAL APPOINTMENTS AWARDED TO REPUBLICAN CONTRIBUTORS

Republicans have also used political appointments as a fundraising tool. Secretary of Commerce Robert Mosbacher turned this practice into an art form in President George Bush's administration. In 1989, Mosbacher, who had been finance chairman of George Bush's 1988 campaign, complained that not enough campaign fundraisers had been rewarded with political appointments. Mosbacher said that there were "several hundred" fundraisers who deserved appointments to ambassadorships, sub-Cabinet posts, or lower-level jobs on commissions who were being neglected. Mosbacher apparently stated at the time that, "[t]here's this perception in Washington and politics, and to some degree in Government, that fund-raisers and fund-givers are nice, interesting people to be sort of patted on the head when you need them and ignored the rest

of the time because they don't really understand the process."⁵⁰ He also reportedly complained that "at least 50 percent" of "those who [had] been helpful" had not received appointments."⁵¹

Mosbacher filled the Commerce Department with appointees whose main credential was that they were major Republican fundraisers or contributors. One of Mosbacher's favorite ways to reward top fundraisers and contributors was to appoint them to the President's Export Council, a quasi-official panel that advised the White House on trade matters. Mosbacher solicited recommendations for appointments to the Export Council from RNC Chairman Lee Atwater and Team 100 Chairman Alec Courtelis.⁵² Six of President Bush's appointees to the Council were Team 100 members.⁵³ Mosbacher also appointed four Team 100 members to the Industry Policy Advisory Committee for Trade Policy Matters, which advised the Commerce Department and the U.S. trade representative.⁵⁴

The Bush Administration also appears to have rewarded major contributors with ambassadorships. President Bush nominated for ambassadorships 11 people who had each given the Republican Party over \$100,000.⁵⁵ Three of these eleven were rated "unqualified" by the American Academy of Diplomacy, a nonpartisan organization of former senior diplomats, including all living former secretaries of state.⁵⁶ The Bush nomination for the ambassador to Australia was particularly egregious. The nominee admitted that he and his wife had "never even been to Australia. When the president told me he had Australia in mind for me, at first I thought he meant Austria."⁵⁷ The Bush nominee to be ambassador to Barbados and seven other Caribbean nations, whom the Senate refused to confirm, was even less qualified. That nominee had no foreign-policy experience, no college degree, and no job history. She told the Senate that her most recent employment was helping her husband "by planning and hosting corporate functions."⁵⁸

One Bush appointee candidly admitted that his fundraising was key to getting his appointment. In 1989, George Bush's nominee to head the United States Information Agency reportedly conceded that were it not for the fact that he had helped raise \$3 million for Bush's campaign, he might "have been selected to be dog catcher."⁵⁹

CONCLUSION

For years, the Republican Party has rewarded campaign contributors with appointments and with access to top Republican politicians and used federal property for fundraising and campaign-related activities. The Republicans have continued these practices at the same time that they have criticized the Democratic Party for its fundraising practices and adamantly opposed Democratic efforts to reform the campaign finance system.

1. Republican National Finance Committee Summary of Programs, p. 1, R 003169-70.
2. Republican National Finance Committee Summary of Programs, p. 2, R 003169-70.
3. 1995 Republican Eagles Manual, p. 3, R 000848-69.
4. Memorandum from A. Morgan Mason to Michael K. Deaver, 9/16/82; Presidential Talking Points: Phone Call to Eagles Meeting, 9/17/82 (emphasis added).
5. Presidential Talking Points: Phone Call to Eagles Meeting, 9/17/82 (emphasis added).
6. 1995 Republican Eagles Manual, pp. 6-14, R 000848-69.
7. 1995 Republican Eagles Manual, p. 16, R 000848-69 (emphasis added).
8. Republican Eagles 1996 Annual Gala Agenda, R 00386-89. The participants were Senators Pete Domenici, Nancy Kassebaum, Dan Coats, John McCain, Richard Lugar, and Kit Bond, and Congressmen John Kasich, John Boehner, Roger Wicker, Benjamin Gilman, Larry Combest, Jan Meyers, and Robert Walker.
9. 1995 Republican Eagles Manual, p. 17, R 000848-69.
10. 1995 Republican Eagles Manual, p. 6, R 000848-69.
11. 1995 Republican Eagles Manual, p. 6, R 000848-69.
12. 1994 Team 100 Brochure, CGRO-2112-27.
13. 1994 Team 100 Brochure, CGRO-2112-27.
14. Richard Sullivan, 7/9/97 Hrg. Pp. 110-11.
15. Letter from Haley Barbour to Bob Dole, 12/15/96, R 048192.
16. Team 100 Gala Speakers Agenda, R 003195-97.
17. Letter from John N. Palmer (addressee redacted), 7/10/96, R 015772.
18. Benefits for Tablebuyers and Fundraisers for the President's Dinner.
19. Benefits for Tablebuyers and Fundraisers for the President's Dinner.
20. Benefits for Tablebuyers and Fundraisers for the President's Dinner.

21. Letter from Senator Christopher Bond, Vice Chairman, NRSC, 7/1/93.
22. Congressional Forum and House Council Announcement.
23. Congressional Forum and House Council Announcement.
24. 1996 RNC Annual Gala: Benefits for Gala Leadership, R 003186-89.
25. 1997 RNC Annual Gala, 5/13/97.
26. Tentative Structure and Benefits for the Official 1995 Republican Inaugural, R 003161.
27. Memorandum from Kevin Kellum to Tim Barnes and Kelley Goodsell, R 003152.
28. Memorandum from Tim Barnes to Royal Roth, 3/2/95, R 15029.
29. Exhibit 278M: National Policy Forum Proposal for Ambrous Young.
30. Ambrous Young deposition, 6/24/97, pp. 50-51, 71.
31. Letter to Ambrous Young from Haley Barbour, January 31, 1995, NPF 000199.
32. Associated Press, 3/11/97.
33. Fort Worth Star Telegram, 9/21/97.
34. Team 100 Gala Speakers Agenda, R 3195-97.
35. Team 100 Gala Speakers Agenda, R 3195-97.
36. Tentative Structure and Benefits for the Official 1995 Republican Inaugural, R 3161.
37. 1995 Team 100 Brochure, Membership Benefits Section.
38. Videotape of 9/30/87 Reception for the Republican Eagles.
39. Videotape of 4/29/87 Reception for President's Dinner.
40. Videotape of 9/12/85 Reception for the Republican Eagles.
41. Videotape of 4/22/85 Meeting for the Republican Congressional Leadership Council.
42. Videotape of 5/10/84 Reception for President's Dinner Committee.
43. Deposition of Judith Spangler, 5/9/97, pp. 39-40.

44. 1997-98 Republican Presidential Roundtable Membership Prospectus.
45. 1997-98 Republican Presidential Roundtable Membership Prospectus.
46. Memorandum from Guy Vander Jagt to Members of the House Council, 10/9/92.
47. Letter from Senator Don Nickles to Inner Circle Nominee, 8/31/90; Fort Worth Star Telegram, 9/21/97.
48. Jerry Campane, 9/18/97 Hrg., p. 225.
49. Jerry Campane, 9/18/97 Hrg., p. 217.
50. New York Times, 2/20/89.
51. New York Times, 2/20/89.
52. Common Cause Report, 4/92.
53. Houston Chronicle, 8/21/92; Common Cause Report, 4/92.
54. Common Cause Report, 4/92.
55. Los Angeles Times, 7/6/92.
56. Seattle Times, 5/26/92.
57. St. Petersburg Times, 4/26/92.
58. Newsday, 11/9/92.
59. New York Times, 2/20/89.